

R A C I A L A S P E C T S

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R E C O N V E R S I O N

*A Memorandum Prepared for the
President of the United States*

by the

N A T I O N A L U R B A N L E A G U E

New York City

August 27, 1945



NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

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The Honorable Harry S. Truman
President of the United States
The White House
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My dear President Truman:

I have the honor, in the name of the National Urban League, to present to you a memorandum dealing with certain racial aspects of the social and economic problems which the American nation faces as it completes the transition from war to peace. The National Urban League is an interracial agency with local affiliates in important cities throughout the country which, for the past thirty-five years, has worked to improve race relations and the social welfare of our Negro population.

Similar memoranda were presented by the League to President Roosevelt in 1933 and in 1937. During the twelve years since our first statement was presented, the United States has struggled constantly against economic distress, for domestic freedom, and against world despotism. Many improvements have been made in the economic and social position of Negroes during this period, and great strides have been made toward the establishment of sound race relations.

Nevertheless, Negroes as a group still do not enjoy equal opportunities and services in the fields of employment, education, health, housing and civil liberties. Certain phases of their welfare continue to require vigorous remedial action. That action is necessary in the interests of the entire nation.

The accompanying memorandum points out certain areas of need in which the National Urban League has special interest and competence by reason of its interracial structure and its years of experience in the field of social welfare. We offer these suggestions to you and members of your Administration with a confidence derived from your record of forthright insistence on the fundamental rights and equal participation of every American citizen in our national life. Our recommendations are of a general character, but the National Urban League will be glad to discuss them in detail when called upon by officials of the government.

We look to you to continue to exert your influence as President of the United States and titular leader of the majority party toward the attainment of democratic ideals. We assure you of our continued interest in helping to make democracy a living symbol for all Americans.

Respectfully yours,

Lester B. Granger
Executive Secretary
National Urban League

LBG:T

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A national movement dedicated to economic equality for Negroes as a contribution to American Democracy.

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PREFATORY STATEMENT

Now that the United Nations have achieved final victory in World War II, American citizens take pride in the fact that while the political, social and economic resources of the country were organized successfully for total war, the cause of social democracy on the home front was not forgotten. Not only were many of the social gains made since 1933 preserved, but in some areas they were actually extended during the war period.

Certain gains have also been made in the matter of race relations, and in the status of Negroes within the whole American community. The National Urban League for Social Service Among Negroes has insistently reminded the nation that the interests of Negro citizens cut across and are imbedded in every single phase of social reconstruction. The status of Negro citizens is the most sensitive barometer of American democracy. The prestige, and indeed the honor of our country depend upon the degree to which every citizen within our democracy is granted full participation in our national and community life, and equal protection for his social and economic welfare.

The National Urban League directs the attention of the Administration to the many grave problems in the present period of national and international reconstruction in which racial factors are deeply involved. As the United States moves from isolationism to a position of full international cooperation, the implications of the disadvantaged position of the nation's largest minority assume, as never before, world significance. For, despite the gains in the status of the Negro population since 1933, that status remains America's greatest single failure, and greatest opportunity.

One of every ten persons in the United States is a Negro. In 1941, seventy-seven percent of the Negro population resided in the South where dual standards of citizenship, employment and income, and participation in the rewards of our society prevail. The welfare of the Negro is not, however, a Southern problem. It is a national one. The geographical redistribution of Negroes to the North and the West, which has taken place since the first World War and has been accelerated since 1942, has eliminated the regional perspective in race relations. The same migration has brought to light basic discriminations in the North and the West; for example, in the areas of employment and housing, which demand vigorous and constructive measures of national statesmanship.

The principle of public administration implicit in the national scope of the problem has been well stated with respect to the area of employment in a recent letter addressed to the Chairman of the House Rules Committee by the President of the United States:

"...Discrimination in the matter of employment against properly qualified persons because of their race, creed or color is not only un-American in nature, but will lead eventually to industrial strife and unrest. It has a tendency to create substandard conditions of living for a large part of our population. The principle and policy of fair employment practice should be established permanently as a part of our national law..."

We have pointed out in the attached statement, conditions of national significance in the fields of employment, housing, education, health, veterans' status, post-war military personnel, and race relations. The text deals only with those selected areas of social living in which the Urban League movement has acquired special technical competence over a period of thirty-five years. The statement does not purport to embrace all of the primary problems confronting the Negro. Additional serious inequalities are the concern of other responsible national organizations which offer capable advisory resources.

The National Urban League again assures the President of the support of its entire interracial membership and affiliated organizations. This statement affirms the League's desire to cooperate in such programs of social betterment as the Federal Government may see fit to plan and to institute.

I I

RACIAL ASPECTS OF SOCIAL PLANNING IN THE PERIOD AHEAD

III

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THE BACKGROUND OF MIGRATION

The recent war, like World War I, has permanently influenced the distribution of the Negro population. Every aspect of interracial adjustment and programming in the fields of employment, education, health, housing and race relations is affected by the recent and prospective migration of Negroes.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO POPULATION IN 1940: After twenty-five years of intensive northern and urban migration, the distribution of the nearly 13,000,000 Negroes in the continental United States was as follows in 1940:

| <i>Region</i> | <i>Number of Negroes</i> | <i>Percent of Negro Pop. in each Region</i> |
|---------------|----------------------------------|---|
| The North | 2,790,193 | 21.7 |
| The South | 9,904,619 | 77.0 |
| The West | 170,706 | 1.3 |
| TOTAL | 12,865,518 | 100.0 |

Nearly one-half of the Negro population (48.7 percent) live in urban centers. This group is much more highly urbanized in the North and the West than in the South. In 1940, 63.5 percent of the Negro population in the South resided in rural districts, whereas in the North 89.4 percent, and in the West 83.1 percent lived in urban areas.

CIVILIAN WAR-TIME MIGRATION: Changes in the structure and location of economic activities during the period of defense and war mobilization have brought about the most extensive redistribution of population in so brief a period in the history of the nation. Negroes participated with other groups in war-time migration, but with three striking differences:

- 1) The commencement and the peak of large-scale Negro migration lagged behind similar phases in the general population shift.
- 2) Once the Negro migration got under way, the number involved was disproportionately large and the rate of migration more intense.
- 3) The proportion of Negroes who will remain in centers of in-migration will probably be significantly higher than the average for all in-migrants.

It is reliably estimated that approximately 750,000 Negroes, exclusive of servicemen, have migrated across state lines during the period 1940 through 1944. A minority

constituting one-tenth of the total population contributed approximately one-sixth of the total war-time inter-state migratory movement. Non-white migrants formed 11.2 percent of the 1,840,000 increase in total population between 1940 and 1944 in ten congested production areas surveyed by the Bureau of the Census. The Negro population in the same centers rose by 49 percent above 1940 levels, in comparison with a total increase in population of 19 percent.

The Negro migration also differed from the general movement in the timing of the various phases. Whereas the peak of total migration was reached in late 1943, it was not until early 1945 that the corresponding phase of the population shift among Negroes was attained. The main stream of Negro migration did not start moving until after mid-1942.

The geographical patterns of Negro in-migration correspond with the areas of most stringent manpower requirements in 1943-1945. Large numbers of Negroes moved from farm areas in the South to southern industrial centers; from the South to the North; from the South, Mid-West and East to the Pacific Coast. Of the total inter-state migration involving 750,000 Negroes from 1940 through 1944, more than 100,000 are estimated to have moved to southern industrial centers from other urban and rural communities in the South. Approximately 300,000 southern Negro workers moved to the border states and northern industrial communities. More than 100,000 went from the northern and border states to other areas. The West Coast gained over 250,000 Negroes from the rural and urban South, the Mid-West and the East. Approximately 200,000 of this total were from the South. In 1940, Negroes constituted only 1.5 percent of the population of Arizona, California, Oregon and Washington; but by 1944, they had accounted for more than 10 percent of the total immigration to this area. The migration of Negroes to the West Coast did not reach its peak until early 1945 and little reverse movement has been evidenced. The migration to the West Coast at this high rate is a significant indication of future population movements.

The migration of Negroes terminated in centers of war industries in the various regions. Such southern centers as Mobile, Alabama, and the Hampton Roads area in Virginia, attracted thousands of in-migrants, who came for the most part from across state lines, but also in significant numbers from rural districts within the respective states. In the border and northern industrial areas, such communities as Washington, Baltimore, the Philadelphia-Wilmington area, the northern New Jersey industrial area, Connecticut and Massachusetts, the mill districts of Ohio and Western Pennsylvania, St. Louis, Chicago and Detroit became important termini. The Portland-Vancouver area and the San Francisco Bay area, together with Seattle and Los Angeles, became major points of attraction on the West Coast.

REASONS FOR DIFFERENCES IN MIGRATION BY RACE: The most important factor influencing the disproportionately high rate of inter-state migration among Negroes and the time lag in their migration is to be found in the discrimination that Negroes originally faced in war employment and in training for war employment. Before its liquidation, the National Youth Administration was the major source, and in many communities the only source furnishing the facilities for skilled war production training for Negroes. Restrictions on their employment after they had been trained, forced many Negroes to leave their communities in order to get the jobs for which they were qualified. This fact is amply illustrated during the period of our war emergency and as late as January 1943, when white labor was imported for jobs in many areas in which thousands

of local Negro job seekers were still unemployed.

Discriminatory administration by state and local educational officials of training programs financed from Federal funds, handicapped Negroes seriously. In southern states, where three-fourths of Negro labor was to be found, training facilities were woefully inadequate and frequently non-existent. In January 1942, Negroes constituted only 4 percent of the total trainees for war industries in the 18 southern and border states where they constituted 22 percent of the total population. In the State of Texas, where Negroes were 14.3 percent of the population, they comprised less than 2 percent of the persons admitted to training for defense production in February 1942. Conditions with respect to pre-employment and supplementary training improved with the substitution of in-service training for other programs, peak demands on the Negro labor reserve and the development of stronger non-discrimination controls by the Federal Government.

PROSPECTIVE SHIFTS: There is every indication that an above-average percentage of Negro in-migrants will remain in war production centers now that the war is over. Much of the inter-state migration from the South to other sections of the country will not be reversed. Despite the pressure of cut-backs in congested centers, thousands of Negroes will find living in the North, West and in border states preferable to returning to the South. In addition, surveys reveal that a disproportionately large ratio of Negro veterans, 75 percent of whom are from the South, do not desire to return to their former places of residence. The war has thus intensified the urbanization of the Negro and dispersed the population more broadly.

It is also reasonable to anticipate a post-war migration of Negroes, similar to that which followed World War I. The post-war migration may be expected to extend more to the West than formerly and also to follow the traditional channels of North-West migration. Several hundred thousand persons may be involved.

SIGNIFICANCE TO PLANNING: As a result of this war-time migration, the development of social welfare machinery to meet the needs of Negroes and to achieve democratic adjustments in race relations has been permanently changed. In addition, the movement of population not only has further nationalized the scope of the problem, but has made it incumbent on every affected community to plan to absorb these newcomers in a constructive manner. Racial tensions inevitably increase in overcrowded war centers, inadequately equipped to absorb large numbers of in-migrants. Positive leadership at national and local community levels is the only thing that can alleviate this condition through insistence on equitable provision of housing, health and educational facilities, and employment opportunities for all citizens.

EMPLOYMENT

THE NEGRO WORKER SEEKS SECURITY: The Number One domestic problem of the nation during the years of transition and peace is full employment. The chief concern of 13,000,000 Negroes is the assurance that post-war America will find a way to use their skills properly. They remember all

too well the long depression years when they constituted a disproportionate share of the nation's relief load. Negroes look to the present Administration to eliminate this condition.

EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES DURING THE WAR: Just as the nation before V-E Day reached an all-time high in the number of gainfully employed workers, Negro workers have similarly enjoyed better work opportunities recently than at any time in their employment history. This favorable situation has been the direct result of two forces:

- 1) the demand for labor in essential industry; and
- 2) the operation of manpower controls, particularly anti-discrimination measures.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that slightly more than a million Negro workers were added to the civilian labor force between April 1940 and November 1944, increasing the number of employed Negro men and women from 4.4 to 5.3 millions. This increase in job opportunities was characterized by a striking development which will affect post-war job prospects for these workers. Whereas only a small proportion of Negro workers were formerly employed in jobs other than unskilled labor, it is now estimated that 30 percent of these workers are engaged in semi-skilled and skilled operations in a wide range of industrial processes. Significant also, is the fact that the number of Negroes on the Federal payroll has increased from a peace-time total of approximately 60,000 to a total of 273,000 at the end of the war. Along with this increase in number of jobs, there has been a corresponding increase in the types of jobs available to them. In 1938, 90 percent of Negro workers in Federal service in Washington were classified as custodial workers, and 10 percent as clerical, technical, and administrative workers. Today, 40 percent of them are custodial, and 60 percent are in the higher categories.

CONCENTRATION IN WAR PRODUCTION: According to the War Manpower Commission, 726,000 Negroes were employed in July 1944, in all industries engaged in the manufacture of materials of war. These workers were distributed in the following major industries:

| | |
|--------------------------|----------------|
| Aircraft | 107,000 |
| Shipbuilding | 182,000 |
| Ordnance | 142,000 |
| Communications Equipment | 19,000 |
| Basic Iron and Steel | 60,000 |
| Basic Non-ferrous Metals | 22,000 |
| Rubber | 16,000 |
| Other Munitions | 178,000 |
| TOTAL | 726,000 |

The disproportionate concentration of Negroes in these industries which will suffer the greatest cut-backs after the war is one of the most unfavorable factors affecting their employment prospects.

RECONVERSION AND NEGRO WORKERS: The majority of Negroes, therefore, now employed in essential

industries will be forced to look for work in new fields. It should be noted also, that they have found employment largely in the congested industrial centers where competition for peace-time employment will be most acute. For this reason, a return to pre-war discriminatory hiring practices will lessen the re-employment chances of displaced Negro workers. Moreover, Negro workers in most cases were the last to be hired; hence, the lack of union seniority will further retard their re-employment. The effects of cut-backs have already been felt in several ship-building and aircraft production centers where Negroes have been among the first workers to be released. It was estimated that some 400,000 Negro war workers would lose jobs between V-E Day and V-J Day. Over-all displacement of Negro war workers because of cut-backs as well as the loss of war jobs to returning veterans whom they have replaced was expected to increase this total.

POST-WAR JOB PROSPECTS, FULL EMPLOYMENT AND FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES: The realization of our peace-time goal of full employment becomes extremely important to Negro workers. Experience has shown that because of their marginal status in industrial and commercial employment, Negroes suffer a disproportionate share of unemployment and under-employment during any period of economic regression. But it must not be assumed that their job problems will disappear even if we achieve a relatively high level of peace-time employment. There is always the possibility that some employers, relieved of the responsibility for continuing fair employment practices, will revert to discrimination against Negro job seekers. There is the possibility, too, that labor unions, acting under pressures, may attempt to protect jobs for their white members at the expense of Negro workers. These two possibilities lead to the conviction that special efforts will be required to continue the desirable war-time trend of distributing jobs entirely on the basis of a worker's skill and capacity - a practice which previously has not been followed where Negro workers are concerned. *The achievement of full employment and fair employment practices instituted by legislation or administrative regulation are both necessary to the maintenance of an improved economic status among Negroes.* Thus, two bills now before the attention of the Congress take on additional importance and demand a full hearing and early action by elected representatives of the people. The first is the "Full Employment Act of 1945" - S 360, to provide for "full employment of American labor." The second is the Dawson-Scanlon Bill to provide for permanent peace-time machinery to insure fair employment practice.

MANAGEMENT'S ATTITUDE: It is significant to note that important sections of management, as revealed in a study of 300 war plants by the National Urban League, have reported favorably on the performance of Negro workers, notwithstanding the fact that the vast majority of them were newcomers to industry and had to be trained on the job. This revelation tends to give some assurance that progressive management will look with favor upon granting Negro workers a fair chance for peace-time employment provided, of course, our economy maintains a high level of production and consumption. It should be added, however, that a number of these industrialists have expressed the conviction that some form of permanent legislation would be needed to eliminate racial discrimination in employment.

ATTITUDE OF LABOR: A heartening development during the war period has been the relaxation of exclusionist policies in the labor movement. Such information as is available indicates that

approximately 1,500,000 Negro workers are currently members of labor unions connected with the CIO, the A.F. of L., or independent unions. Notable exceptions in this regard are the Railway Brotherhoods, against whom action is now pending as a result of their refusal to comply with an NRC directive. Some unions have partially relaxed their pre-war policies, such as permitting the establishment of auxiliaries for Negroes only, or issuing special work permits for them. Obviously, these changes in policy do not give Negro workers a chance to work freely at the job of their choice, nor does it permit them to enjoy the protection of full union membership and participation. Certain local affiliates of international unions have failed to bring their practices in line with the policies of their respective internationals, and they are deliberately restricting freedom of choice in employment opportunities for Negro workers. Unless there is a more vigorous effort to secure fair labor practices in all labor unions, Negro workers will face an added barrier to equality of job opportunity.

The National Labor Relations Board in three recent decisions involving collective bargaining of unions and the right of Negro members to unrestricted membership, has in effect given the sanction of the Federal Government to discriminatory practices against Negro workers. The Board certified three unions as the exclusive bargaining agents of all employees in each of the three cases, although Negro members of these unions did not enjoy the rights and privileges of full membership status. On the other hand, the United States Supreme Court in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen case, and the War Labor Board in several other rulings, have given opposite decisions. We are convinced that a basic constitutional law, or by regulation with the force of law, and federal implementing machinery are two of the most appropriate and sure means of eliminating such restrictive membership practices.

THE UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE: The United States Employment Service is, and will probably be, a strategic point of contact for Negro workers and veterans seeking employment. Racial practices in some local, regional, and area offices of the United States Employment Service have advanced in the past four years, but there is much room for improvement in the service of routing Negro workers to jobs. Among other things, few offices employ Negro personnel at levels which permit them to share in policy making or program planning. For instance, in Region VII covering Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Tennessee, a negligible number of Negroes are to be found as interviewers or counselors despite the high proportion of Negroes in the population of the region.

CIVIL SERVICE: The number of Negro workers enjoying Federal Civil Service status has increased from 60,000 to 273,000 during the war. The majority of these workers have only temporary Civil Service status, but many of them will seek to qualify for permanent employment now that the war is over. The continuation of fair and impartial practices with respect to the selection and assignment of Negro eligibles to job openings under Civil Service jurisdiction will aid materially in preventing discrimination against them.

PHASES OF SOCIAL SECURITY: The need for a higher level of unemployment benefits has been stressed by the President of the United States. Negro workers, who will be seriously affected by cut-backs, are among those whom the solution of this issue will affect most directly.

Indeed, the social security program we now have is of little direct benefit to millions of Negroes. The Act excludes, from both unemployment insurance and old-age and survivors insurance, employees of private households and farm work - two occupations in which millions of Negroes make their living. Some 10 million wage earners are now building protection against the economic risks of death and painless old age under the Federal old age and survivors insurance program. The opportunity to share these benefits is denied to some fifteen to twenty million wage earners - and of whom are Negroes. Of all monthly benefits awarded in 1942, only 2 percent went to Negroes, although they normally represent about 10 percent of our working population.

Unless the Social Security Act is changed, there is also real danger that many Negroes now in industrial jobs and contributing to the Social Security fund will not be protected against the hazards of unemployment or old age. Many of them, who lack the industrial tenure required for benefits, may be forced to return to employment not now covered by the Social Security Act. Unemployment insurance, too, excludes from its scope domestic and agricultural service, public employment and certain other jobs. In many states those who work for small firms are not covered. Here again, large numbers of Negroes find themselves automatically left with no insurance protection. Constructive proposals now before Congress would eliminate such discrimination in the coverage of workers. The words "social security" will take on meaning for millions of Negroes if these proposals are enacted into legislation.

HOUSING

The social implications of poor housing are too well-known to require extended discussion. Urban slums breed poverty, sickness, crime and delinquency. They are also financial wastes to the community. Low standards of rural housing are not only bad of themselves, but they increase the difficulty of attaining a satisfactory adjustment of rural migrants to urban modes of living. Problems of racial tension also stem from the special frustrations of Negroes in congested cities. Crowded Negro populations need space, but efforts to find space invariably meet with resistance and sometimes lead to overt conflict. Detroit is a case in point. Negroes ask to the present Administration for improvement of their housing conditions in urban and rural areas, and for firm policies designed to eliminate special types of exploitation.

BASIC DISPARITIES: The 1940 Census pointed up the seriousness of the housing problem in this country. The contrast between the conditions under which the white population lives and those faced by Negroes, is also graphically indicated by the Census and related data.

Of the dwellings occupied by Negroes, 83 percent are in need of major repairs or having plumbing deficiencies, as compared with 16 percent of those occupied by whites. In other words, two of every three urban dwellings occupied by non whites are substandard, and for whites one of every four. Twenty five percent of the urban housing Negroes occupy is overcrowded - that is, with more than 1.5 persons per room, as compared with only 8.5 percent of that occupied by whites. Only 24 percent of the urban owner-occupied dwellings are occupied

ly Negroes, whereas 1 percent are owner-occupied by whites. A survey made by a private housing publication showed that the landlords of the Negro renters would prefer to own their own homes. The average value of the owner-occupied homes is only \$1,100, while for whites it is \$3,350. The median value for Negroes is \$500 and for whites it is \$1,100. About 1 percent of the rural Negro population, renting below \$200. The corresponding figure for white tenants is \$32.00.

The rural population of the nation, in general, suffers from even worse housing than the urban group. The farms and the villages of the country contained 2,000,000, slightly larger number of all housed persons than the cities of the United States in 1940. In rural farm areas 11.2 percent are in rural non farm areas. Only 1 percent of the homes listed in the 1940 census are rented. The housing conditions of the Negroes are forced to live are alarming. Whereas 13.3 percent of rural non farm units, and 28.2 percent of rural farm units occupied by whites needed major repairs or a new building water, the corresponding figures for Negroes were, respectively, 22.2 percent and 41.3 percent. Of the total dwelling units occupied by non whites, 38.4 percent of the rural non farm units and 54.9 percent of the rural farm units had no rooms or less. The corresponding figure for dwelling units occupied by whites were, respectively, 14.5 percent and 20.5 percent. A National Health Survey in 1935-36, found that 41.4 percent of Negro school children had lice and that 1.7 percent of Negroes compared to 1.3 percent of whites were sick in that area. If the housing conditions at present existing in rural areas are forced extensively in urban areas, in the case of Negroes living in these primitive conditions are even more extensive. This factor serves to explain the high rate of disease in urban centers where in-migration has taken place on a large and rapid scale.

THE AGGRAVATING FACTOR OF MIGRATION: The urban housing conditions of Negroes are even more serious, the migration of Negroes into war industrial centers. These migrant came late and were subject to artificial restrictions limiting their dwelling places. They have forced the resident Negro populations to their racial ghettos with the result that large numbers are now living under conditions beneath any satisfactory standards of health and decency. In Baltimore, for instance, Negroes comprise 25 percent of the population and are concentrated in 2 percent of the residential area. In Chicago, 250,000 Negroes live in white city in less than 15 square miles. The second and third wards of this city have a population density of 2,000 per square mile, comparable to the density of Calcutta, India.

INADEQUACY OF THE WAR HOUSING PROGRAM: Although the Federal Public Housing Authority will have built some 2,000 units for Negro war workers and families when the 25,000 units programmed in 1944 are completed, private enterprise, assisted in its program by the Federal Housing Administration, has lagged far behind. The total war housing built by private builders numbers about 520,000 units, but as late as December 1944, only 7,844 of these units had been completed for Negroes, while 8,926 were under construction. This failure to meet the housing needs of Negro war workers is all the more serious because all war housing constructed through FHA assistance is permanent. On the other hand, the majority of publicly financed war housing units constructed under FPHA are temporary and must be torn down after the war. Some of the lag in the construction of housing for Negroes may be attributed to the difference in the time factor of the Negro

migration, but many communities failed deliberately or otherwise, to plan for Negro immigrants perhaps in the futile hope of discouraging them from remaining permanently after the war. As a general rule the time span between the planning and construction of units for Negro occupancy was much longer than average. Federal agencies have on some occasions vacillated in their decisions to plan or to build when subjected to local pressures directed against Negro occupancy.

FACTORS IN THE HOUSING PROBLEM: The housing problem which Negroes face in the United States is part and parcel of the total problem of providing adequate housing in well planned neighborhoods at price levels that are practical for the various income groups. The specific problem, as it relates to Negroes, is complicated by the lower and discriminatory economic status of Negroes and by the intrusion of definite special factors: the artificial restrictions upon housing supply and land area.

In urban communities, the center of the housing problem for Negroes is the need for space. This problem is aggravated by racial restrictive covenants, deed restrictions and agreements covering the major portion of the land area in urban communities. Denied access to the open housing market, Negroes participate in a housing market having quasi-monopolistic characteristics. This condition produces three undesirable results:

- (a) Competitive maintenance standards are eliminated as a factor for attracting Negro tenants. With vacancies at a minimum, they are without substantial bargaining power and are usually at the mercy of the landlord or realtor.
- (b) The dwellings, normally ranging in age from 30 to 40 years, are substandard when Negroes move in. Those who wish to improve their housing conditions must resort to home purchases regardless of considerations of financial wisdom. They must then purchase in the transitional "white" areas where they pay for the monopoly factor in excessive sales price and sometimes in personal safety.
- (c) Not only must Negroes live under these conditions, but they must bear the onus of them: "Racial restrictive covenants are needed to protect property against the vandalism of Negroes"; "Negroes depreciate property."

FHA MAL-PRACTICES: It is exceedingly unfortunate that Negroes have so often found their attempts to satisfy their housing needs frustrated by an agency of government. The Federal Housing Administration has participated in arrangements with building and mortgage institutions whereby loans are made to Negroes only if they build or buy in Negro neighborhoods; and to whites only if they build in white areas which are under covenants obligating owners not to rent or sell to Negroes. In this way the Federal Government has, in effect, fostered barriers which prevent Negroes from securing better housing. It follows, therefore, that the policies of a Federal agency have contributed toward the extension and intensification of racial ghettos by forcing Negroes into them.

FHA has not only required that racial restrictive covenants be applied to properties it approves for insured mortgages, but it has also formalized in the *FHA Underwriters Manual* the concepts upon which these covenants are based. The effects of this are immeasurable. The Manual is the model for practically all of the appraiser and banker manuals in use throughout the nation. The volume of real estate now insured by the FHA constitutes a huge proportion of

the total privately constructed housing in the United States. And this volume is increasing steadily. It has been estimated that about 40 percent of all the privately constructed war housing completed under the War Production Board preference rating orders was financed by FHA insured mortgages. Although the FHA is now revising its manual to eliminate references to racial residential restriction, the damage done already cannot be repaired so simply. Its concepts have already become ingrained in the real estate financial operations of the country. Only positive action on the part of this agency can counteract its invidious influence.

THE ROLE OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND OF GOVERNMENT: Both the Federal Government and private enterprise must intensify their efforts if deplorable housing conditions are to be alleviated. Private enterprise has a substantial role, but it should be made aware of its social responsibilities to all citizens. It must be restrained, insofar as it is assisted by the government, from its past role of interfering with an open housing market. It is almost inconceivable that private enterprise should be permitted to continue to indulge in anti-social acts which, if performed by government, would be illegal. Moreover, private enterprise should be more fully aware of the potentialities of the middle income Negro market than it has been in the past. The role of private enterprise should in no way obscure the need for subsidized housing in both urban and rural areas in order to provide decent dwelling units for those otherwise unable to pay for them. But while the Federal Government intensifies its operations in urban and rural housing, it should at the same time refrain from committing its past mistakes while have often frustrated Negroes in their quest for better housing and contributed to the unhealthy congestion of minority citizens.

EDUCATION

The crisis of the war has aroused the people of the nation to an increased realization of the importance of education in our national life. The war has brutally highlighted deficiencies in the provision of educational opportunities, both general and vocational, for Negroes in the South. It has also brought to light the evil results of the disparities in state allocation of Federal funds for the technical training of Negroes in that area.

SELECTIVE SERVICE FINDINGS: A disproportionately large number of Negroes, otherwise well equipped, failed to meet the educational standards of Selective Service. Selective Service findings pointed up facts which had long been common knowledge to many:

- 1) Illiteracy was much higher in the South than in other parts of the country
- 2) Negroes, long disadvantaged by inequalities in educational facilities and services, showed a much higher relative amount of illiteracy in sections where separate schools prevailed than in other sections.

During the period December 7, 1941-December 5, 1942, it was found that 32 percent of the 744,000 physically fit registrants without dependents 18 to 38 years of age, who had less than five years of schooling, were Negroes. The second report of the Director of Selective Service reports further that:

"The high rate of educational deficiency remains one of the involved problems among Negro registrants. The four months' study made during the summer and early fall of 1941 indicated that the rejection rate among Negroes was 715 times that among white registrants....In the section of the country where the largest number of illiterates is found, educational systems for whites and Negroes are separate."

"The disproportionate rejection of Negroes was due to the fact that they had been denied even the most rudimentary elements of formal education. This situation persisted in spite of the modification of regulations from time to time in an attempt to increase the acceptability of Negroes for military and naval educational standards and the development of remedial programs in the armed services.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN THE SOUTH Although some progress has been made during the past decade in the education of Negroes in the South, the millions of Negroes who live there have no access to educational opportunities equal to those provided for white persons. Salaries of Negro teachers are still less in spite of a decision of the U. S. Supreme Court to the contrary. Per capita expenditures for Negro pupils is less than for white children. Federal funds for vocational education and secondary education have been distributed after a vote by the States. A competent observer has concluded that Negro children in the Deep South have less than one-fifth the opportunity for education of the average American child. The following summary will reveal the marked differences in the educational resources for whites and Negroes:

194 -1942 Public School Expenditures per Pupil
in Average Daily Attendance in White and Negro Schools
in 11 States

| State | White | Negro |
|-----------------|----------|----------|
| ALABAMA | \$ 51.98 | \$ 17.07 |
| ARKANSAS | 45.19 | 14.21 |
| FLORIDA | 81.10 | 23.35 |
| GEORGIA | 58.80 | 14.93 |
| LOUISIANA | 91.58 | 22.76 |
| MARYLAND | 94.52 | 21.64 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 52.79 | 1.42 |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 49.63 | 24.17 |
| OKLAHOMA | 72.35 | 24.42 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | 64.60 | 19.74 |
| TEXAS | 83.88 | 27.91 |
| TOTAL (Average) | 68.04 | 26.50 |

| STATE | Average Annual Salary of Principals Supervisors and Teachers | | Average Length of Term in Days in School | | Average Number of Days Attended by Each Pupil Enrolled | | Number of Pupils Enrolled Per Member of Instructional Staff | |
|-------------|--|-------|--|-------|--|-------|---|-------|
| | White | Negro | White | Negro | White | Negro | White | Negro |
| TOTAL | \$ - | \$ - | 170.2 | 156.8 | 143.5 | 128.0 | 28.6 | 36.1 |
| ALABAMA | 923 | 458 | 159.9 | 151.3 | 134.4 | 126.2 | 30.6 | 40.0 |
| ARKANSAS | 740 | 441 | 164.8 | 146.8 | 131.6 | 116.5 | 32.7 | 41.2 |
| GEORGIA | 961 | 460 | 167.5 | 154.9 | 139.0 | 121.8 | 29.4 | 37.8 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 712 | 226 | 165.4 | 124.1 | - | - | 29.4 | 42.4 |
| S. CAROLINA | 1036 | 465 | 178.3 | 160.2 | 146.5 | 116.0 | 27.4 | 36.2 |

3) Statistics similar to the above are applicable to institutions of higher learning, including the Land Grant Colleges. In the 17 Southern States in which Negroes constituted 23 percent of the total population in 1930, they constituted only 6 percent of the enrollment in publicly supported institutions of higher learning. In these same 17 states, Negro colleges in 1935-36 received only 5.2 percent of the Federal funds given to Land Grant Colleges. Neither the Smith-Pughes Act nor the George-Dean Act contains stipulations requiring the equitable allocation of funds to Negroes within the states. The U. S. Office of Education reported in 1937, the percentage of all Federal funds spent for vocational education courses in high schools for Negroes in 17 of the 18 states studied, was lower than the percentage of Negroes to the total population.

4) Equalization of higher education in publicly supported separate schools systems has not been achieved, despite a Supreme Court ruling requiring the admission of Negroes to state schools when equal facilities for Negroes in professional education were not provided.

NON-DISCRIMINATORY FEDERAL AID REQUIRED: The National Urban League makes no plea here for the special education of Negroes. Equitable educational facilities should be made available to all, based on need primarily, and as a matter of sound public policy. It is dangerous to penalize a child because he was born in Georgia rather than in Massachusetts, and it is even more dangerous to penalize him because he is black rather than white. Southern states spend proportionately more of their annual income on education than other states; yet they do not have the wealth to provide facilities comparable to those found in other parts of the country. The result is that all southern children are disadvantaged. But the flagrantly illegal violation of the principle of equality expressed in state constitutions means that the Negro child suffers more than any other.

Federal aid to education is a necessity if educational standards in the economically poor regions are to be raised. Furthermore, in view of the unprecedented population shifts, both inter-state and intra-state, federal aid becomes a double necessity. Appropriate safeguards in law must be established to insure the equitable distribution of such aid to educational institutions serving the Negro population.

HEALTH

The war crisis has awakened the people of the nation to a heightened appreciation of the importance of health in our national life. The extraordinary proportion of selectees who failed to meet the health requirements of Selective Service, and the disproportionate rate of rejection of Negroes on this account, have brought to light critical weaknesses in the American standard of living.

REMEDIAL NATURE AND NATIONAL IMPORTANCE OF HEALTH PROBLEMS: Health problems among Negroes are, in large measure, remedial. There is no such thing as "Negro health" as has been alleged by many individuals, lay and professional. Health conditions among Negroes obviously affect the welfare of the nation as a whole. Thus, to remedy these conditions it becomes the responsibility of the entire nation. This responsibility is made the more inescapable by dint of the tremendous inter-state, inter-regional and rural urban shifts of population, which may be expected to continue after the war. Moreover, any physically defective man, of whatever race, affects adversely the successful defense of the entire country. The sick person, whether Negro or white, who suffers enforced idleness is an economic handicap to himself and to national production.

FACTS OF NEGRO LIFE AND DEATH: A few pertinent comparisons will show the gross differentials which exist between the health experiences of the Negro and white groups:

- 1) The general Negro mortality rate is 30 to 40 percent higher than the rate for white persons; and between the ages of 21 and 24, three times as many Negro as white women die.
- 2) Negro life expectancy is 10 to 12 years shorter than that of the whole group.
- 3) In 1943, proportionately 3 times as many Negro males, and 4 times as many

Negro females as white males and females, respectively, died from tuberculosis, and in certain cities and age groups, the disproportion reached levels of 8 to 1.

- 4) Venereal disease, as shown by a number of surveys in the civilian population, by the rejection figures from Selective Service and by Army and Navy figures, is from 10 to 12 times more prevalent in Negro than in white groups.
- 5) In spite of the fact that utilization of sulfa drugs has cut fatalities tremendously, pneumonia and influenza still kill, proportionately, twice as many Negroes as whites.
- 6) Negro mothers and infants continue to die in greater proportions. Twice as many Negro mothers and one and one-half times as many Negro infants as white mothers and infants, respectively, die yearly in this country.
- 7) Pellagra, which is a disease of poverty as expressed in poor nutrition, is an important consideration in the mortality of the Negro in the South. At present 4 times as many Negro males and 6 times as many Negro females die in comparison to white males and females, respectively.
- 8) Malaria is another important consideration in the South. In 1940, 8 times as many Negro males and 10 times as many Negro females died of this disease in comparison to white males and females, respectively.

FACTORS DETERMINING HEALTH STATUS OF NEGROES: Three major factors determine to a great extent the health status of any group. Socio economic level; educational level, and availability of health and medical care. In each of these categories, Negroes are literally "at the bottom of the pile."

First, the low economic stratum of the Negro is well illustrated by his per capita income, the housing facilities available to him, and the nutritional level at which he must exist. In the field of housing, for instance, the National Health Survey in 1935-36 found that in the South 21.2 percent of Negro households has more than 1.5 persons per room as compared to 8.4 percent of white households in that area.

Secondly, the low educational level of the Negro is shown in the fact that up to January 1, 1945, 32 percent of Negro rejectees examined under Selective Service were disqualified because of educational deficiency. It is not difficult to explain this when we recall the tremendous disparities in the allocation of public funds for education in the southern states as between Negro and white children.

Thirdly, the lack of availability of health and medical facilities, is possibly the most important single factor in the determination of the differentials existing between Negro and white mortality rates. This extends throughout the whole range of professional services as may be seen from the following examples:

a) Negro Physicians: The number of Negro physicians during the past ten years decreased 5 percent in the nation as a whole and 12 percent in the South; while the total number of physicians in the nation increased 12 percent. The South, with ten million Negroes, had a little over 2,000 Negro Physicians. It has been stated that there should be a ratio of 1 physician per 1,600 population in order to safeguard the health of civilians, yet in 1942 the ratio of Negro physicians to Negro population was as follows in the following states:

| | |
|----------------|--------------|
| Mississippi | 1 per 18,527 |
| South Carolina | 1 per 12,512 |
| Louisiana | 1 per 8,666 |
| Arkansas | 1 per 8,320 |

While it is true that Negro professional men in the major health care programs are few, latter point must be noted that there is no reason to suppose that this is necessarily indicative from a racial community point of view.

b) Negro Dietists: At the present time there are approximately 1,700 Negro dietists serving the 17 million Negroes in the United States, and the majority of these are located in the southern states.

c) Negro Public Health Nurses: As of January 1942, there were 917 Negro public health nurses employed in the 17 southern, private health agencies in the United States. Approximately 1,000 Negroes are employed in the 17 southern states. Mississippi employed only 1 Negro public health nurse, while there are 1,000,000 Negroes with its confines. In the other hand, Georgia had 66 and North Carolina had 49 Negro public health nurses.

d) General Hospital Beds for Negroes: An analysis of hospital beds available to Negroes in the 17 southern states, as of January 1, 1942, shows that there is a tremendous need for hospital beds. The following ratios are significant:

Arkansas 0.9 beds per 1,000 for Negroes
1.4 beds for entire population

Mississippi 0.5 beds per 1,000 for Negroes
1.3 beds for entire population

South Carolina 0.4 beds per 1,000 for Negroes
1.1 beds for entire population

The above mentioned data by itself is not significant; however, when it is related to the fact that the 17 southern states have a population of about 10,000,000, the inadequacy is acute.

e) Hospital Beds for Specific Diseases (Tuberculosis): There are approximately 15,000 Negro tuberculous deaths in the United States every year. It has been estimated that there should be 2 beds for every tuberculous death for adequate care; yet in 1942 there was a total of only 7,000 beds. There were only 5,000 beds in the South, and in some states the figures were startling. Mississippi had 74 beds; Alabama 167 and Kentucky 141.

f) Maternal and Infant Care: In 1942, 45.7 percent of the Negro live births were delivered by midwives, while 31.2 percent of the white births were so delivered. Also 26 percent of the Negroes were delivered by physicians as compared to 22 percent for the whites. The situation in some states is more deplorable, as a small percentage attended by midwives.

| | <u>White</u> | <u>Negro</u> |
|----------------|--------------|--------------|
| South Carolina | 5.4 | 77.2 |
| Mississippi | 4.9 | 80.0 |
| Arkansas | 4.6 | 71.6 |
| Georgia | 4.7 | 69.5 |

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT: The Federal Government is expected to assist in the development of a strong program for improving the health of civilians and veterans in the future. Any program will be built on the basis of the existing health care system in order to meet the needs of all Americans. Some organizations of health care are already in place for all and special organizations of Veterans of professional health levels. Some steps in this direction are being taken for the Social Security Administration (Office of Community and Services of the Federal Security Agency), which may conduct Veterans' health participation in the planning and operation of these programs, but the services are distributed to members of an advisory committee. A time table must be prepared under such programs of community organization.

THE NEGRO VETERAN

THE FACTS: Recent reports indicate that approximately 1,000,000 Negro veterans have been brought into the American forces. According to an official government release of September 1944, the number serving in the United States Army was as follows:

| | |
|---------------------------|----------------|
| Infantry | 11,000 |
| Coast and Field Artillery | 1,000 |
| Cavalry | 800 |
| Engineers | 1,000 |
| Air Corps | 73,686 |
| All Other | 408,100 |
| TOTAL | 701,486 |

Those serving in the other branches of the Armed Forces were distributed as follows:

| | |
|--------------|----------------|
| Navy | 142,643 |
| Marine Corps | 15,771 |
| Coast Guard | 3,657 |
| TOTAL | 162,071 |

It is reliably estimated that we shall maintain a peace-time military force of approximately 2,000,000. Assuming that Negroes will constitute 10 percent of the total Army, we can see that the present total military force, taken at 2,000,000 Negroes in the Armed Forces, is sufficient for a number of other enforcement purposes. It is estimated, therefore, that there will be about 1,000,000 Negro veterans added to the number already discharged before V-J Day. Thus, the total number of Negro veterans of World War II may well approximate one million men and women.

THE PROBLEM: The problems of adjusting Negro veterans to peace-time living are not different basically from the problems relating to the adjustment of other veterans. The difference is pointed out in this report stems from the variations in racial prejudices and the magnitude of the effect of these upon the institutions upon which we depend for social adjustment.

the questions which must be answered are the following:

- (1) What special problems will be encountered by Negro veterans?
- (2) What steps must be taken by appropriate government agencies to solve these problems?

The "G.I. Bill of Rights" has provided a framework for the over-all rehabilitation of veterans of this war. It is within this framework that we shall evaluate the problems of Negro veterans.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES: In appraising the Negro veteran's chances for securing satisfying employment, several important factors must be considered. It is estimated that 75 percent of Negro veterans have come from the South, and half of this number came from rural and semi-rural areas in the South. The pre-war employment experience of many of these men was extremely limited. While an estimated 25 to 30 percent of all veterans are expected to return to pre-war employment, it is extremely doubtful that more than 15 percent of the Negro veterans had jobs to which they will want to or can return.

The second factor to be considered is the fact that thousands of Negro veterans shall have acquired new skills and work experiences in the Armed Services and will therefore seek the kind of jobs in which these skills and experiences can be productively used. Consequently they will be seeking jobs in certain industries and businesses which before the war employed no Negroes at all, or only a few usually as unskilled workers or laborers. If restrictions against the employment of Negroes are not lifted or eliminated, it stands to reason that Negro veteran job seekers will suffer undue hardships and difficulties in their adjustment to proper peace time living.

A third factor which cannot be overlooked is the possibility that a significant number of Negro veterans, former residents of the rural South, will not return to their homes. In their search for better economic conditions, they will naturally turn to areas in which these opportunities and conditions are available. The expected post-war migration of Negro veterans to industrial and commercial centers of the North, Mid-West and West will profoundly affect the labor market in those centers and accentuate the problem of employment for all Negro wage earners.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR VOCATIONAL AND APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING: Closely related to the problem of job-seeking and job getting are serious questions growing out of the dearth of vocational training and apprenticeship opportunities for Negro veterans. In Southern and border cities having separate educational facilities for Negroes, the amount of vocational training available is obviously limited. This, in effect, nullifies to a large extent the "G.I. Bill's" provisions for aiding these veterans. While it is true that the Land Grant Colleges for Negroes and private educational institutions in those areas have recognized the need for richer offerings in vocational and industrial training, they can accommodate only a very small proportion of the veterans who will want to take advantage of the educational provisions of the G.I. Bill to improve their skills and earning power. Aside from the limitations with respect to plant and equipment, the seventeen Land Grant Colleges for Negroes are further handicapped because of inadequacies in their curricula. Only one of these schools has an "A" rating in this respect.

A lack of apprenticeship training opportunities has been reported in a number of communities to which Negro veterans have already returned. Because of the present need for labor in war industries, it is true that the number of veterans applying for apprenticeship training is negligible. But in the foreseeable future cut-backs in war production will conceivably compel an increasingly large number of veterans who cannot find suitable jobs, to accept apprenticeship training. Unless a special effort is made to obtain apprenticeship opportunities for Negro veterans, their adjustment will be made doubly difficult.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES: Estimates of the number of all veterans interested in continuing or continuing their formal education, at the college and professional levels, indicate that approximately 78,000 are eligible to receive assistance under a provision of the G.I. Bill. Should Negro veterans constitute 10 percent of this total, we face the problem of possible discrimination against many of them because of the entrance quota system for minorities adopted by a considerable number of colleges outside of the South. This practice, if continued after the war, will undoubtedly adversely affect hundreds of Negro veterans who will be eligible and qualified to enter or to return to schools and colleges for professional and technical training.

It is generally reported that Negro state and private colleges and universities will assume major responsibility for the post war education of Negro veterans. Even if this were true, it is obvious that the majority of these institutions at present are unprepared to fulfill this responsibility of meeting the educational needs of Negro veterans from the standpoint of physical equipment, curriculum, and teaching staff. It would seem, therefore, that the Veterans Administration, in addition to guaranteeing financial aid for education to Negro veterans, must assume the further responsibility of seeing that all schools admit qualified veterans without restriction as to race, so that no veteran will be discriminated against in his choice of the educational institution he may wish to attend.

OPPORTUNITIES IN BUSINESS: Another provision of the G.I. Bill which will be attractive to Negro veterans is the opportunity to borrow funds to establish business enterprises. At present, there is urgent need for factual material on small businesses operated by Negroes that would be effectively useful in advising Negro veterans about the types of business to establish, trends in business, and the chances for success in such businesses. To prevent frustrations and charges of discrimination which may result from failure to obtain loans, to finance businesses owned and operated by Negroes, the Veterans Administration should be prepared to collect, analyze and make available material on small business opportunities among the Negro population.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR PURCHASING A HOME: Negro veterans interested in acquiring property and purchasing homes will face a number of very real problems. The shortage of desirable living accommodations for Negroes before and during the war will now become more acute everywhere. It would be extremely unfortunate if these veterans were victimized by unscrupulous real estate owners and operators because they failed to get proper advice and counsel before undertaking the responsibility of purchasing a home, or by the FHA policy of encouraging or tolerating racial restrictive covenants.

RESERVE AND REGULAR STATUS: A complementary problem is the permanent program for training and commissioning Negro officers in all branches of the Armed Services. Between World War I and World War II, two Negroes were commissioned as lieutenants in the Army, and none in the Navy. Indeed, Navy regulations were strict to Negroes except in the stewards' department. A recent study, except for this department, indicates that all present Negro naval personnel are in the reserve rather than in the regular Navy, and their ratings and duties come to an end six months after the close of this war.

The Army has shown a tendency to relax some of its traditional racial practices in the assignment of Negro personnel and in the training and promotion of officers. But these relaxations, especially because as they affect enlisted personnel, are limited in extent and their intentions are vague. The Navy has recently seen more positive and imaginative changes, notably the elimination of any traces of segregation, broadening of types of assignments, affording of shipboard social opportunities and assignment of Negro commissioned army artillery officers. Still, as has been pointed out, all of these changes have been made on a basis of reserve service, and the question of the Negro's post-war service status still remains unsettled. Until it is settled, and is taken in accordance with the Negro's full citizenship rights, service in the Armed Forces will continue to be a cause for inter-racial animosity and an impairment of the morale of our Negro population.

RACE RELATIONS

IMMINENT DANGER: The year 1944 was marked by serious racial conflicts. The late President Roosevelt warned, in a letter dated September 7, 1944, addressed to the Executive Secretary of the National Urban League:

"Men of all races - black, brown, white and yellow - fight beside us for freedom. We cannot stand before the world as a champion of oppressed peoples unless we practice as well as preach the principles of democracy for all men. Racial conflict diminishes war production, cuts down the flow of guns and planes and increases the toll of American lives. Racial strife destroys national unity at home and renders us suspect abroad."

After World War I, even though no race riots occurred, many observers, liberal and conservative, are predicting the occurrence of similar conflict after World War II. There are numerous riot-prone factors left unattended in war industry areas. Conflict potentials in the areas of employment, housing, recreation and civil liberties may reasonably be expected to become more serious as migration and competition for jobs increase during reconversion and as veterans are released from the Armed Services. Reliable reports indicate that open anti-Negro propaganda, similar to the Ku Klux Klan, are now being promoted. Extremist remarks on the floor of Congress and restrictionist tactics to kill NRM appropriations are other legislative signs that indicate the condition of Negroes in recent weeks have aggravated racial tensions.

SOME ENCOURAGING SIGNS. There are, on the other hand, some encouraging signs which show that influential national leaders are anxious to avoid racial conflict. Progressive public opinion

has been strengthened by the stand of the President in support of legislation to eliminate the factor of race or color as a qualification for employment. A number of official and semi-official committees of white and Negro Americans have been established in various cities, with the aim of improving race relations and preventing situations that threaten to "break the peace." Army and Navy leaders have taken steps to develop among members of the Armed Services an appreciation of racial prejudice and conflict.

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT: The Federal Government has an unquestioned moral responsibility for improving race relations and for dealing effectively with situations which jeopardize "the life, liberty and happiness" of any of its citizens. The National Urban League believes that a constructive story taken by the Administration will be supported by the majority of the citizens of the country, and will assist immeasurably in the development of healthy and sound community living in a democratic society.

FEDERAL INVESTIGATION Some responsible investigatory agency, reporting directly to the President or to the Congress, should proceed immediately to uncover, identify, and publicize these movements, with their leaders, that are dividing these critical days to break public faith in the democratic ideal and to stimulate hostility and conflict between Americans of different races, faiths and national origins. For a while there might have existed some faint hope that this function might be performed by the current House Committee on Un-American Activities, but even that hope disappears in view of the activities and known attitudes of its Vice-Chairman and his evident influence among a number of the Committee's members.

The Senate Committee to Investigate the War Effort, popularly known as the Truman Committee, among others, have done helpful contributions to the end of exposing un-American activities that interfered with the conduct of the war. It is not unreasonable to hope that a similar Senate Committee might cooperate with the Department of Justice to guard against subversion of our peace-time reconversion by uncovering and exposing present and future hate-breeding movements.

POSITIVE STEPS: But more positive leadership is also the responsibility of the Federal Government. It has been conclusively demonstrated by the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices, that the will of the people can be both directed and supported by administrative agencies which guard the American people against social and economic discrimination which is recognized as injurious to the common welfare. Since the NEPC is a war-time governmental device, there is need for permanent post-war agencies which can effectively police the employment and administrative practices of governmental departments and agencies, and of state agencies and public contractors as they carry out federally supported or subsidized projects. This need should be met in a variety of ways. An official body such as a permanent "NEPC" will aid in enforcing the principle of non discrimination in employment, but Federal supervision and intervention are also necessary to insure that government-subsidized programs in public housing, health, education, and recreation shall be administered without racial discrimination.

It is evident that no one bureau or other agency can carry all of these and many other responsibilities for preventing racial discrimination and lessening interracial hos-

tivity. For this reason, among others, the National Urban League consistently opposes suggestions that have been made for the establishment of a special bureau or problems of minority groups to be included in some Federal department. Such a method of approach, the League considers dangerous, in that it would tend to classify special groups of American citizens as wards of the Federal Government and would encourage the same kind of corrupt and political considerations as characterized the government's supervision of Indian affairs for a number of years.

The National Urban League believes that impartial administration of the laws and similar discharge of all governmental responsibilities will not be achieved by any single administrative device. Every single governmental activity bearing upon the welfare of the American people should not only police itself but should also be open to scrutiny, and pressure of public opinion, when racial discrimination is discovered. It is needless to point out that Congress itself frequently becomes a forum in which hate-breeding sentiments are expressed and from which racial hostility is disseminated throughout the nation. Since free speech is a right of the legally elected representatives of the people on the floor of the House and the Senate, such expressions cannot be prevented, but their very expression places an additional responsibility on the thoughtful and public-spirited leaders of the Federal Government to counteract their effect by constructive statements and action.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The National Urban League, in view of the considerations presented

in this statement, recommends the following principles and recommendations:

A.

OVER-ALL PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
AND REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

1. History records that Negroes characteristically do not share equitably in the expenditure of Federal grants-in-aid in the Southern and border states, when such grants supplement state expenditures for programs of social welfare. Conspicuous examples are found in the instances of social security benefits, vocational and technical education, and training for war industry. There is a strong probability that similar grants-in-aid will be provided by the Federal Government in such programs as may be developed in the fields of health services, education, and urban and rural housing. THEREFORE,

WE URGE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION SUPPORT AMENDMENTS TO EXISTING STATUTES AFFECTING SOCIAL WELFARE, AND THE INCLUSION OF PROVISIONS IN SIMILAR SOCIAL LEGISLATION YET TO BE ENACTED. TO ESTABLISH SPECIFIC SAFEGUARDS PROTECTING THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF EVERY CITIZEN TO EQUITABLE AND NON-DISCRIMINATORY ALLOCATION OF FUNDS AND TO EQUAL STANDARDS OF SERVICE.

2. Experience reveals that services to Negroes are more equitably provided by government agencies when qualified Negro personnel exercise live functions of assisting in the determination of policies and administrative procedures at all executive and operational levels. Outstanding illustrations are the United States Public Housing Authority and the National Youth Administration. On the other hand, certain agencies have been delinquent in this regard. It is probable that Federal administrative machinery may be reorganized or extended, in the areas of health service, veterans' services, rural and urban housing, education, the post war military forces and employment. THEREFORE,

WE RECOMMEND THAT QUALIFIED NEGROES BE APPOINTED AS LINE PERSONNEL, AT ALL LEVELS INCLUDING TOP ADMINISTRATION, AND WITH DUE REFERENCE TO ORGANIZATION WITH RESPECT TO FUNCTIONS AND GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS.

3. The National Urban League is educational, but non-political in character. We recognize, however, that social services to Negroes will be improved when they have a direct voice in the determination of their representatives. The right of franchise is now abridged in the southern states by the unconstitutional "white primary" and other restrictions. THEREFORE,

WE URGE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, ACT VIGOROUSLY TO EXTEND AND PROTECT THE FRANCHISE TO NEGROES IN THE AREAS OF ABRIDGMENT, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RIGHTS GUARANTEED TO ALL CITIZENS BY THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

B.

SPECIFIC PROGRAMS

1. Employment

The Number One domestic problem of the nation, and of the Negro minority during the years of transition and peace, is full and unrestricted employment. THEREFORE,

WE URGE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION SUPPORT UNCOMPROMISINGLY LEGISLATION, APPROPRIATIONS, AND PROGRAMS WHICH HAVE THE FOLLOWING PURPOSES:

- a) TO PROMOTE FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, FIRMS ENGAGED IN INTERSTATE COMMERCE, AND TRADE UNIONS AFFECTING INTERSTATE COMMERCE.
- b) TO ASSIST IN THE ATTAINMENT OF FULL EMPLOYMENT.
- c) TO DEVELOP AN ADEQUATE PROGRAM OF PUBLIC WORKS DURING PERIODS OF ECONOMIC SLACK.
- d) TO INSURE ADEQUATE UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION.
- e) TO PROVIDE FULL COVERAGE OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE AND OLD AGE AND SURVIVORS INSURANCE.

2. Housing

Housing conditions throughout the nation have been worsened during the war. Negroes have been chronically subjected to substandard housing in urban and rural areas. Vital interest is now being manifested in the improvement of the housing of all income groups without regard to race. THEREFORE,

WE RECOMMEND:

- a) THAT THE NATIONAL HOUSING AGENCY BE MADE A PERMANENT FEDERAL BODY TO ASSIST PRIVATE AND PUBLIC CONSTRUCTION OF STANDARD HOUSING FOR ALL PEOPLE OF MIDDLE AND LOW INCOME LEVELS.
- b) THAT ADEQUATE FEDERAL FUNDS BE MADE AVAILABLE - UNDER THE UNITED STATES HOUSING ACT, AS AMENDED - TO CONTINUE THE LOW-RENT HOUSING PROGRAM.
- c) THAT FEDERAL AND STATE URBAN REDEVELOPMENT LAWS BE ADOPTED:

To provide the right of eminent domain where necessary to assemble land for development or redevelopment, private individuals or concerns, however excepted;

To remove all racial restrictions from land acquired under eminent domain or redevelopment laws;

To assemble adequate parcels of land to make possible large-scale coordinated housing programs by both public and private developers; and

To provide adequate housing for people displaced by slum clearance.

- d) THAT ALL EXISTING NATIONAL HOUSING LEGISLATION AND ANY SUBSEQUENT FEDERAL OR URBAN REDEVELOPMENT LEGISLATION CONTAIN A NON-DISCRIMINATION CLAUSE WITH ASSURANCE OF ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY TO ENFORCE IT.
- e) THAT THE FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION NOT ONLY WITHDRAW ALL ORDERS, MANUALS, DIRECTIVES, ETC., WHICH CONDITION APPROVAL OF MORTGAGE INSURANCE UPON RACIAL RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS AND AGREEMENTS, BUT THAT IT ESTABLISH POSITIVELY A NON-DISCRIMINATORY POLICY AND DEVELOP THE ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY TO ENFORCE SUCH POLICY.
- f) THAT THE FEDERAL PUBLIC HOUSING AUTHORITY AND ANY OTHER PUBLIC HOUSING AGENCY DESIST FROM MAKING COMMITMENTS TO LOCAL NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY GROUPS TO SEGREGATE NEIGHBORS IN PUBLIC HOUSING - PARTICULARLY IN AREAS WHERE OTHER PUBLIC FACILITIES, SUCH AS SCHOOLS, PARKS, TRANSPORTATION, ETC., ARE USED BY ALL RACIAL GROUPS ON AN UNSEGREGATED BASIS.
- g) THAT AN ADEQUATE AND NON-DISCRIMINATORY PROGRAM FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF RURAL HOUSING BE DEVELOPED.

3. Education

The war has emphasized the deficiencies in the provision of educational opportunities, both general and vocational, for Negroes in the South; abuses in the administration of Federal Funds for the technical training of Negroes where separate schools exist; the substandard quality of education of the entire South; and the educational needs of returning veterans. Federal aid to education is necessary to insure higher education standards. THEREFORE,

WE RECOMMEND THAT FULL SUPPORT BE GIVEN TO LEGISLATION DESIGNED TO EQUALIZE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY THROUGHOUT THE NATION AND THAT SAFEGUARDS BE ESTABLISHED TO GUARANTEE THE BENEFITS OF ANY AND ALL SUCH PROGRAMS EQUALLY TO ALL PERSONS WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE OR CREED.

WE RECOMMEND FURTHER THAT SURPLUS WAR PROPERTY BE DISTRIBUTED IN SUCH MANNER AS TO INCREASE THE FACILITIES AVAILABLE FOR THE TECHNICAL EDUCATION OF NEGROES.

4. Health

Many of the health problems among Negroes are attributable to circumstances affecting the availability of facilities and services to them, as well as to factors associated with economic status and educational deficiencies. The war has focused attention on the health problems of the nation. THEREFORE,

WE RECOMMEND:

- a) THAT AN ADEQUATE COMPULSORY MEDICAL CARE PROGRAM, FINANCED IN PART FROM FEDERAL FUNDS, BE DEVELOPED TO EASE THE IMPACT OF ILLNESS ON ALL INDIVIDUALS.
- b) THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ASSUME A MAJOR SHARE OF RESPONSIBILITY IN STIMULATING THE ERECTION OF HOSPITALS, WHERE NEEDED, AND MAKE AVAILABLE GRANTS FOR THE OPERATION OF THESE HOSPITALS UNTIL SUCH TIME AS THE STATES CAN FULLY MAINTAIN THEM; SUCH FACILITIES TO BE AVAILABLE IN PROPORTION TO THE NEEDS OF ANY GROUP.
- c) THAT INCREASED SUPPORT BE GIVEN TO THE U.S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE TO ASSIST IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A GENERALIZED HEALTH PROGRAM, INCLUDING THE IMPROVEMENT OF SANITATION IN RURAL AREAS.
- d) THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT STIMULATE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES IN THE PROFESSIONS TO YOUNG PEOPLE AND PARTICULARLY TO NEGROES, SO THAT THERE WILL BE AN INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF PHYSICIANS, DENTISTS, NURSES, AND RELATED TECHNICIANS.
- e) THAT SURPLUS MEDICAL MATERIAL BE DISTRIBUTED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE SURGEON GENERAL OF THE U.S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE IN TERMS OF NEED AND SUBJECT TO THE ASSURANCE THAT INSTITUTIONS SERVING NEGROES WILL BENEFIT PROPORTIONATELY BY SUCH DISTRIBUTION.

5. The Negro veteran

The problem of adjusting Negro veterans to peace-time living is basically the same as that of rehabilitating other veterans, but subject to such differences as are found in the institutions around which we organize our society. The Federal Government has the responsibility of assuring equal and non-discriminatory treatment to Negro veterans. In this connection we call especial attention to the recommendations relating to the *Over-All Principles of Public Administration and Representative Government*. THEREFORE,

WE RECOMMEND THAT THE VETERANS ADMINISTRATION TAKE EVERY STEP POSSIBLE TO ASSURE THE EQUITABLE OPERATION OF THE VETERANS' READJUSTMENT ACT AMONG ALL CLASSES OF CITIZENS; THAT TO THIS END, THE VETERANS ADMINISTRATION INTEGRATE NEGRO PERSONNEL THROUGHOUT ITS STRUCTURE AND CONFER WITH REPRESENTATIVE AGENCIES HAVING SPECIAL KNOWLEDGE OF COMMUNITY PROBLEMS AFFECTING NEGROES.

WE RECOMMEND FURTHER THAT THE VETERANS ADMINISTRATION AVOID THE EXPEDIENCY AND RESIST THE TENDENCY TO SET UP ANY NEGRO VETERANS' FACILITY, BUT INSTEAD ADMIT NEGRO AND WHITE VETERANS AND NEGRO AND WHITE PROVISIONAL PERSONNEL TO ALL VETERANS' FACILITIES UNDER CONDITIONS OF EQUALITY.

6. The Post-War Military Forces

Encouraging democratic gains have been made during the war by the Armed Forces. These steps have provided a number of sound models which may be extended. However,

basic problems exist in the segregation of Negro servicemen, their training under humiliating conditions, and the under-utilization of Negro personnel. THEREFORE,

WE RECOMMEND THAT THE ARMED SERVICES TAKE, OR CONTINUE TO TAKE EFFECTIVE STEPS TO ABOLISH RACIAL SEGREGATION; TO MAINTAIN THE MORALE OF NEGRO SERVICEMEN; TO INSURE ABSOLUTE EQUALITY OF TRAINING TO NEGROES IN ALL BRANCHES OF THE SERVICES; AND TO PROTECT NEGRO SERVICEMEN AND WOMEN FROM HUMILIATIONS AND INJUSTICES WHICH THEY HAVE FREQUENTLY SUFFERED WHILE WEARING THE UNIFORM OF THE ARMED SERVICES.

7. Race Relations

A critical period in race relations is now setting in with the close of the war. A firm stand on the part of our national leadership is necessary if healthy social controls are to be developed. THEREFORE,

WE URGE:

- a) THAT THE ADMINISTRATION, AND ESPECIALLY THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, TAKE EVERY STEP TO ASSURE NEGRO CIVILIANS AND VETERANS OF "FREEDOM FROM FEAR."
- b) THAT THE MILITARY SERVICES ADOPT UNCOMPROMISINGLY A SINGLE STANDARD FOR TREATMENT AND PROTECTION OF PERSONNEL AND INTENSIFY THEIR PROGRAM OF EDUCATION OF RETURNING VETERANS AGAINST INTOLERANCE.
- c) THAT THE ADMINISTRATION MAKE USE OF EVERY INVESTIGATORY AGENCY TO UNCOVER, PUBLICIZE, AND ELIMINATE ALL THE ORGANIZED FORCES THAT TEND TO SPREAD AND CAPITALIZE UPON FEAR, HATE AND CONFLICT WITHIN THE AMERICAN POPULATION.
- d) THAT ALL FEDERAL DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES CONCERNED WITH SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC WELFARE ATTACK THE CONDITIONS THAT ENCOURAGE THE SPREAD OF FEAR AND HATE, AND THAT THE ADMINISTRATION GIVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO WAYS AND MEANS OF STABILIZING HEALTHY INTERRACIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN THE UNITED STATES.

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